

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 168019
ORIGIN PM-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 EA-07 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00
DODE-00 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-13 ACDA-07 OMB-01
TRSE-00 SIG-01 /108 R

DRAFTED BY PM/DCA: MARIETTI
APPROVED BY PM: RBARTHOLOMEW
NEA/RA - R. HOBBS
AF/RA - MR. LEWIS
EA/RA:- L. MCNUTT
EUR/SOV - S. MCCALL
ACDA - J. TWOMBLY
DOD - T. GORMAN
NSC - G. SICK
S/S-O::JETHYDEN

-----119494 200210Z /61

R 191957Z JUL 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY MANAMA
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
INFO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 168019

S E C R E T STATE 168019

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, XO

SUBJECT: US-SOVIET TALKS ON THE INDIAN OCEAN

REF: STATE 142360

1. DURING MOSCOW MEETING US AND SOVIET UNION AGREED TO INFORM UN AD HOC COMMITTEE ON THE INDIAN OCEAN ABOUT THE GENERAL COURSE OF THEIR TALKS. BOTH SIDES AGREED ON GENERAL PARAMETERS TO BE USED IN COMMUNICATING WITH THE COMMITTEE. INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDED COMMITTEE IS OF A GENERAL NATURE AND DOES NOT INCLUDE DETAILED PRESENTATION OF EITHER SIDES VIEWS. BEYOND THIS, US WISHES TO KEEP IN TOUCH WITH INDIAN OCEAN STATES WHICH HAVE AN INTEREST IN US-SOVIET DISCUSSION OF THESE ISSUES. DURING MOSCOW MEETING US AND SOVIET SIDES AGREED THAT TALKS SHOULD REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL, BUT THE US RESERVED THE RIGHT TO CONSULT ALLIES AND OTHER FRIENDLY STATES. ACTION ADDRESSEES MAY DRAW ON FOLLOWING TO BRIEF HOST GOVERNMENTS, BUT SHOULD UNDERLINE THAT THIS INFORMATION IS BEING PASSED IN STRICT CONFIDENCE.

2. INITIAL MEETING OF US-SOVIET WORKING GROUP ON THE INDIAN OCEAN TOOK PLACE JUNE 22-27 IN MOSCOW. THE TALKS WERE SERIOUS, POSITIVE, AND NON-POLEMICAL, BUT THEY REVEALED MAJOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE VIEWS OF THE TWO SIDES. BOTH SIDES AGREED TO CONTINUE THE TALKS AND THE NEXT MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE IN SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 168019

3. THE MEETINGS CONTRIBUTED TO A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE VIEWS OF BOTH SIDES AND IDENTIFIED DIFFERENCES AND ASPECTS WHICH REQUIRE FURTHER STUDY. BOTH SIDES AGREED ON THE DESIRABILITY OF AVOIDING AN ESCALATING ARMS RACE IN THE REGION. THEY AGREED THAT ONE APPROACH WOULD BE FOR THE TWO SIDES TO AGREE TO STABILIZE THE LEVEL OF THEIR MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN. THERE WERE DIFFERENCES, HOWEVER, OVER THE MEANING OF STABILIZATION AND THE PRECISE STEPS THAT SHOULD BE TAKEN TO ACHIEVE THIS INITIAL GOAL. WE BELIEVE THAT GENERAL LIMITATIONS ON PRESENCE AND FACILITIES SHOULD BE THE FIRST STEP: REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED NEXT, IN LIGHT OF OUR EXPERIENCE WITH AN INITIAL STABILIZATION AGREEMENT.

4. THERE WAS DISCUSSION OF THE SOVIET CLAIM THAT US FORCES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN MIGHT CONSTITUTE A STRATEGIC THREAT TO THE SOVIET UNION. THE US STATED THAT ITS FORCES IN THE AREA DO NOT CONSTITUTE A THREAT TO THE SOVIET UNION. THE TYPES OF FORCES WHICH EACH SIDE DEPLOYS TO THE INDIAN OCEAN ARE A REFLECTION OF THE DIFFERENT STRUCTURE OF ITS ARMED FORCES. THE US IS WILLING TO CONSIDER MUTUAL

LIMITATIONS ON US AND SOVIET FORCES, BUT IS NOT PREPARED TO ACCEPT CONSTRAINTS ON ITS FORCES THAT RESULT IN UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE FOR THE OTHER SIDE.

5. THE TALKS ALSO ADDRESSED SUCH QUESTIONS AS THE DEFINITION OF THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA, METHODS TO BE USED IN MEASURING SHIP DEPLOYMENTS AND THE QUESTION OF SUPPORT FACILITIES LOCATED IN THE REGION. BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT THE DEFINITION OF THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA WOULD INCLUDE THE RED SEA AND THE PERSIAN GULF, THOUGH SOME DIFFERENCES ON OTHER BOUNDARIES REMAIN TO BE WORKED OUT.

6. THE TWO SIDES AGREED THAT THE TALKS WOULD BE BILATERAL AND SHOULD NOT ADVERSELY AFFECT THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 168019

ANY COUNTRY. THEY FURTHER AGREED THAT GENERALLY RECOGNIZED NORMS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW CONCERNING FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT BY AIRCRAFT OF THE OPEN SEA, OF UNHAMPERED MERCHANT NAVIGATION, AND OF OCEANOGRAPHIC AND OTHER RESEARCH SHOULD NOT BE ABRIDGED AS A RESULT OF NEGOTIATIONS ON INDIAN OCEAN ARMS LIMITATIONS.

7. THE US DOES NOT MINIMIZE THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH LIE AHEAD IN THESE TALKS AND IS NOT PREPARED AT THIS TIME TO PREDICT THE EVENTUAL OUTCOME. NEVERTHELESS, WE ARE ENCOURAGED THAT THE SOVIETS APPEAR TO BE TAKING A SERIOUS APPROACH TO THIS ISSUE. WE INTEND TO PURSUE THIS QUESTION VIGOROUSLY AND ARE READY TO MOVE TOWARDS AN EQUITABLE AND PRACTICAL AGREEMENT THAT WOULD MEET THE INTERESTS NOT ONLY OF THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION, BUT ALSO OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION.

8. FOR NEW DELHI: IN VIEW OF THE PRESIDENT'S INTEREST IN KEEPING IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH THE INDIANS ON THIS ISSUE, YOU MAY DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING MORE DETAILED COMMENTS.

--ONE OF THE MAJOR POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT IDENTIFIED AT THE TALKS WAS THE SOVIET CLAIM THAT THE US IS SEEKING TO BUILD UP THE CAPABILITY TO DEPLOY STRATEGIC FORCES TO THE REGION AND THAT THESE FORCES SHOULD BE BANNED IN AN AGREEMENT. THE SOVIETS DID NOT, HOWEVER, CONTEST THE RIGHT OF EITHER SIDE TO MAINTAIN FORCES TO PROTECT NATIONAL INTERESTS (EG. THE FLOW OF OIL TO THE MAJOR INDUSTRIAL CONSUMERS). WE ARE WILLING TO INCLUDE LIMITATIONS ON OUR MILITARY PRESENCE AS PART OF MUTUAL RESTRICTIONS ON BOTH SIDES, BUT CANNOT ACCEPT UNILATERAL CONSTRAINTS ON CERTAIN TYPES OF US FORCES, SUCH AS AIRCRAFT CARRIERS OR SUBMARINES.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 168019

--THE SOVIETS ALSO WISH TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF US FORCES AND FACILITIES IN AREAS ADJACENT TO THE INDIAN OCEAN AND WISH TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE MILITARY ACTIVITIES OF US ALLIES. WE REPLIED THAT THE TALKS ARE BILATERAL AND DO NOT AFFECT THE MILITARY ACTIVITIES OF THE LITTORAL OR OF OTHER NON-LITTORAL STATES, OR CONCERN FORCES IN OTHER AREAS.

--BOTH SIDES WERE IN RELATIVELY CLOSE AGREEMENT AS TO THE WATERS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA. HOWEVER, THERE IS A DIFFERENCE OF VIEW ON HOW MUCH OF THE WATERS NORTH AND SOUTH OF AUSTRALIA SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN ANY INDIAN OCEAN AGREEMENT.

--BOTH SIDES AGREED TO CONSIDER MEASURING SHIP PRESENCE THROUGH SOME COMBINATION OF SHIP DAYS AND TON DAYS, BUT QUESTIONS REMAIN CONCERNING THE DEFINITION OF THE TYPES OF SHIPS TO BE COVERED.

--THERE ARE ALSO MAJOR DIFFERENCES OF VIEW ON THE QUESTION OF SUPPORT FACILITIES CENTERING PRIMARILY ON WHETHER THE DEGREE OF CONTROL BY ONE SIDE NEEDS TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN THE DISCUSSIONS. VANCE

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 168019

ORIGIN PM-05

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 IO-13 ISO-00 NEA-10 AF-10 EUR-12

ACDA-07 DODE-00 NSC-05 SS-15 /085 R

66011

DRAFTED BY:PM/DCA:MARIETTI

APPROVED BY:PM: MR. BAKER

NEA/RA: R. HOBBS

AF/RA: MR. LEWIS

EA/RA:L. MCNUTT

EUR/SOV:S. MCCALL

ACDA:J. TWOMBLY

DOD: T. GORMAN

NSC: G. SICK

S/S- O:JETHYDEN

-----011283 211147Z /43

R 210541Z JUL 77

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY MANILA

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

S E C R E T STATE 168019

FOL REPEAT STATE 168019 ACTION NEW DELHI ISLAMABAD SINGAPORE
KUALA LUMPUR JIDDA MANAMA COLOMBO JAKARTA NAIROBI KHARTOUM
INFO TEHRAN MOSCOW LONDON PARIS CANBERRA WELLINGTON TOKYO
DTD 19 JUL.

QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 168019

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, XO

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 168019

SUBJECT: US-SOVIET TALKS ON THE INDIAN OCEAN

REF: STATE 142360

1. DURING MOSCOW MEETING US AND SOVIET UNION AGREED TO
INFORM UN AD HOC COMMITTEE ON THE INDIAN OCEAN ABOUT THE
GENERAL COURSE OF THEIR TALKS. BOTH SIDES AGREED ON
GENERAL PARAMETERS TO BE USED IN COMMUNICATING WITH
THE COMMITTEE. INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDED COMMITTEE IS
OF A GENERAL NATURE AND DOES NOT INCLUDE DETAILED
PRESENTATION OF EITHER SIDES VIEWS. BEYOND THIS, US
WISHES TO KEEP IN TOUCH WITH INDIAN OCEAN STATES WHICH
HAVE AN INTEREST IN US-SOVIET DISCUSSION OF THESE ISSUES.
DURING MOSCOW MEETING US AND SOVIET SIDES AGREED THAT
TALKS SHOULD REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL, BUT THE US RESERVED THE
RIGHT TO CONSULT ALLIES AND OTHER FRIENDLY STATES.
ACTION ADDRESSEES MAY DRAW ON FOLLOWING TO BRIEF HOST
GOVERNMENTS, BUT SHOULD UNDERLINE THAT THIS INFORMATION
IS BEING PASSED IN STRICT CONFIDENCE.

2. INITIAL MEETING OF US-SOVIET WORKING GROUP ON THE
INDIAN OCEAN TOOK PLACE JUNE 22-27 IN MOSCOW. THE TALKS
WERE SERIOUS, POSITIVE, AND NON-POLEMICAL, BUT THEY
REVEALED MAJOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE VIEWS OF THE TWO
SIDES. BOTH SIDES AGREED TO CONTINUE TGE TALKS AND THE NEXT

MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE IN SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER.

3. THE MEETINGS CONTRIBUTED TO A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE VIEWS OF BOTH SIDES AND IDENTIFIED DIFFERENCES AND ASPECTS WHICH REQUIRE FURTHER STUDY. BOTH SIDES AGREED ON THE DESIRABILITY OF AVOIDING AN ESCALATING ARMS RACE IN THE REGION. THEY AGREED THAT ONE APPROACH WOULD BE SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 168019

FOR THE TWO SIDES TO AGREE TO STABILIZE THE LEVEL OF THEIR MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN. THERE WERE DIFFERENCES, HOWEVER, OVER THE MEANING OF STABILIZATION AND THE PRECISE STEPS THAT SHOULD BE TAKEN TO ACHIEVE THIS INITIAL GOAL. WE BELIEVE THAT GENERAL LIMITATIONS ON PRESENCE AND FACILITIES SHOULD BE THE FIRST STEP: REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED NEXT, IN LIGHT OF OUR EXPERIENCE WITH AN INITIAL STABILIZATION AGREEMENT.

4. THERE WAS DISCUSSION OF THE SOVIET CLAIM THAT US FORCES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN MIGHT CONSTITUTE A STRATEGIC THREAT TO THE SOVIET UNION. THE US STATED THAT ITS FORCES IN THE AREA DO NOT CONSTITUTE A THREAT TO THE SOVIET UNION. THE TYPES OF FORCES WHICH EACH SIDE DEPLOYS TO THE INDIAN OCEAN ARE A REFLECTION OF THE DIFFERENT STRUCTURE OF ITS ARMED FORCES. THE US IS WILLING TO CONSIDER MUTUAL LIMITATIONS ON US AND SOVIET FORCES, BUT IS NOT PREPARED TO ACCEPT CONSTRAINTS ON ITS FORCES THAT RESULT IN UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE FOR THE OTHER SIDE.

5. THE TALKS ALSO ADDRESSED SUCH QUESTIONS AS THE DEFINITION OF THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA, METHODS TO BE USED IN MEASURING SHIP DEPLOYMENTS AND THE QUESTION OF SUPPORT FACILITIES LOCATED IN THE REGION. BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT THE DEFINITION OF THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA WOULD INCLUDE THE RED SEA AND THE PERSIAN GULF, THOUGH SOME DIFFERENCES ON OTHER BOUNDARIES REMAIN TO BE WORKED OUT.

6. THE TWO SIDES AGREED THAT THE TALKS WOULD BE BILATERAL AND SHOULD NOT ADVERSELY AFFECT THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF ANY COUNTRY. THEY FURTHER AGREED THAT GENERALLY RECOGNIZED NORMS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW CONCERNING FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT BY AIRCRAFT OF THE OPEN SEA, OF UNHAMPERED MERCHANT NAVIGATION, AND OF OCEANOGRAPHIC AND OTHER RESEARCH SHOULD NOT BE ABRIDGED AS A RESULT OF NEGOTIATIONS ON INDIAN OCEAN ARMS LIMITATIONS.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 168019

7. THE US DOES NOT MINIMIZE THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH LIE AHEAD IN THESE TALKS AND IS NOT PREPARED AT THIS TIME TO PREDICT THE EVENTUAL OUTCOME. NEVERTHELESS, WE ARE ENCOURAGED THAT THE SOVIETS APPEAR TO BE TAKING A SERIOUS APPROACH TO THIS ISSUE. WE INTEND TO PURSUE THIS QUESTION VIGOROUSLY AND ARE READY TO MOVE TOWARDS AN EQUITABLE AND PRACTICAL AGREEMENT THAT WOULD MEET THE INTERESTS NOT ONLY OF THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION, BUT ALSO OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION.

8. FOR NEW DELHI: IN VIEW OF THE PRESIDENT'S INTEREST IN KEEPING IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH THE INDIANS ON THIS ISSUE, YOU MAY DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING MORE DETAILED COMMENTS.

--ONE OF THE MAJOR POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT IDENTIFIED AT THE TALKS WAS THE SOVIET CLAIM THAT THE US IS SEEKING TO BUILD UP THE CAPABILITY TO DEPLOY STRATEGIC FORCES TO THE REGION AND THAT THESE FORCES SHOULD BE BANNED IN AN AGREEMENT. THE SOVIETS DID NOT, HOWEVER, CONTEST THE RIGHT OF EITHER SIDE TO MAINTAIN FORCES TO PROTECT NATIONAL INTERESTS (EG. THE FLOW OF OIL TO THE MAJOR INDUSTRIAL CONSUMERS). WE ARE WILLING TO INCLUDE LIMITATIONS ON OUR MILITARY PRESENCE AS PART OF MUTUAL RESTRICTIONS ON BOTH SIDES, BUT CANNOT ACCEPT UNILATERAL CONSTRAINTS ON CERTAIN TYPES OF US FORCES, SUCH AS AIRCRAFT CARRIERS OR SUBMARINES.

--THE SOVIETS ALSO WISH TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF US FORCES AND FACILITIES IN AREAS ADJACENT TO THE INDIAN OCEAN AND WISH TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE MILITARY ACTIVITIES OF US ALLIES. WE REPLIED THAT THE TALKS ARE BILATERAL AND DO NOT AFFECT THE MILITARY ACTIVITIES OF THE LITTORAL OR OF OTHER NON-LITTORAL STATES, OR CONCERN FORCES IN OTHER AREAS.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 168019

--BOTH SIDES WERE IN RELATIVELY CLOSE AGREEMENT AS TO THE WATERS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA. HOWEVER, THERE IS A DIFFERENCE OF VIEW ON HOW MUCH OF THE WATERS NORTH AND SOUTH OF AUSTRALIA SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN ANY INDIAN OCEAN AGREEMENT.

--BOTH SIDES AGREED TO CONSIDER MEASURING SHIP PRESENCE THROUGH SOME COMBINATION OF SHIP DAYS AND TON DAYS, BUT QUESTIONS REMAIN CONCERNING THE DEFINITION OF THE TYPES OF SHIPS TO BE COVERED.

--THERE ARE ALSO MAJOR DIFFERENCES OF VIEW ON THE QUESTION OF SUPPORT FACILITIES CENTERING PRIMARILY ON

WHETHER THE DEGREE OF CONTROL BY ONE SIDE NEEDS TO BE
TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN THE DISCUSSIONS. VAVCE UNQUOTE
VANCE

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 168019
ORIGIN PM-05

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /006 R

66011

DRAFTED BY:PM/ISO:JEBURGESS:ML
APPROVED BY:PM/ISO:JWKIMBALL
PM/DCA:MARIETTI

-----011945 211255Z /43

R 210405Z JUL 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO CINCUSNAVEUR
CINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH
CINCUSAFE
CINCUSAREUR
CINCPAC
CINCLANT
INFO COMIDEASTFOR

S E C R E T STATE 168019

MILITARY ADDEES FOR POLADS

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 168019 ACTION NEW DELHI ISLAMABAD
SINGAPORE KUALA LUMPUR JIDDA MANAMA COLOMBO JAKARTA NAIROBI
KHARTOUM TEHRAN MOSCOW LONDON PARIS CANBERRA WELLINGTON TOKYO
JUL 19.
QUOTE S E C R E T STATE 168019

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, XO

SUBJECT: US-SOVIET TALKS ON THE INDIAN OCEAN

REF: STATE 142360
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 168019

1. DURING MOSCOW MEETING US AND SOVIET UNION AGREED TO INFORM UN AD HOC COMMITTEE ON THE INDIAN OCEAN ABOUT THE GENERAL COURSE OF THEIR TALKS. BOTH SIDES AGREED ON GENERAL PARAMETERS TO BE USED IN COMMUNICATING WITH THE COMMITTEE. INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDED COMMITTEE IS OF A GENERAL NATURE AND DOES NOT INCLUDE DETAILED PRESENTATION OF EITHER SIDES VIEWS. BEYOND THIS, US WISHES TO KEEP IN TOUCH WITH INDIAN OCEAN STATES WHICH HAVE AN INTEREST IN US-SOVIET DISCUSSION OF THESE ISSUES. DURING MOSCOW MEETING US AND SOVIET SIDES AGREED THAT TALKS SHOULD REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL, BUT THE US RESERVED THE RIGHT TO CONSULT ALLIES AND OTHER FRIENDLY STATES. ACTION ADDRESSEES MAY DRAW ON FOLLOWING TO BRIEF HOST GOVERNMENTS, BUT SHOULD UNDERLINE THAT THIS INFORMATION IS BEING PASSED IN STRICT CONFIDENCE.

2. INITIAL MEETING OF US-SOVIET WORKING GROUP ON THE INDIAN OCEAN TOOK PLACE JUNE 22-27 IN MOSCOW. THE TALKS WERE SERIOUS, POSITIVE, AND NON-POLEMICAL, BUT THEY REVEALED MAJOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE VIEWS OF THE TWO SIDES. BOTH SIDES AGREED TO CONTINUE THE TALKS AND THE NEXT MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE IN SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER.

3. THE MEETINGS CONTRIBUTED TO A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE VIEWS OF BOTH SIDES AND IDENTIFIED DIFFERENCES AND ASPECTS WHICH REQUIRE FURTHER STUDY. BOTH SIDES AGREED ON THE DESIRABILITY OF AVOIDING AN ESCALATING ARMS RACE IN THE REGION. THEY AGREED THAT ONE APPROACH WOULD BE FOR THE TWO SIDES TO AGREE TO STABILIZE THE LEVEL OF THEIR MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN. THERE WERE DIFFERENCES, HOWEVER, OVER THE MEANING OF STABILIZATION AND THE PRECISE STEPS THAT SHOULD BE TAKEN TO ACHIEVE THIS
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 168019

INITIAL GOAL. WE BELIEVE THAT GENERAL LIMITATIONS ON PRESENCE AND FACILITIES SHOULD BE THE FIRST STEP: REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED NEXT, IN LIGHT OF OUR EXPERIENCE WITH AN INITIAL STABILIZATION AGREEMENT.

4. THERE WAS DISCUSSION OF THE SOVIET CLAIM THAT US FORCES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN MIGHT CONSTITUTE A STRATEGIC THREAT TO THE SOVIET UNION. THE US STATED THAT ITS FORCES IN THE AREA DO NOT CONSTITUTE A THREAT TO THE SOVIET UNION. THE TYPES OF FORCES WHICH EACH SIDE DEPLOYS TO THE INDIAN OCEAN ARE A REFLECTION OF THE DIFFERENT STRUCTURE OF ITS

ARMED FORCES. THE US IS WILLING TO CONSIDER MUTUAL LIMITATIONS ON US AND SOVIET FORCES, BUT IS NOT PREPARED TO ACCEPT CONSTRAINTS ON ITS FORCES THAT RESULT IN UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE FOR THE OTHER SIDE.

5. THE TALKS ALSO ADDRESSED SUCH QUESTIONS AS THE DEFINITION OF THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA, METHODS TO BE USED IN MEASURING SHIP DEPLOYMENTS AND THE QUESTION OF SUPPORT FACILITIES LOCATED IN THE REGION. BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT THE DEFINITION OF THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA WOULD INCLUDE THE RED SEA AND THE PERSIAN GULF, THOUGH SOME DIFFERENCES ON OTHER BOUNDARIES REMAIN TO BE WORKED OUT.

6. THE TWO SIDES AGREED THAT THE TALKS WOULD BE BILATERAL AND SHOULD NOT ADVERSELY AFFECT THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF ANY COUNTRY. THEY FURTHER AGREED THAT GENERALLY RECOGNIZED NORMS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW CONCERNING FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT BY AIRCRAFT OF THE OPEN SEA, OF UNHAMPERED MERCHANT NAVIGATION, AND OF OCEANOGRAPHIC AND OTHER RESEARCH SHOULD NOT BE ABRIDGED AS A RESULT OF NEGOTIATIONS ON INDIAN OCEAN ARMS LIMITATIONS.

7. THE US DOES NOT MINIMIZE THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH LIE AHEAD IN THESE TALKS AND IS NOT PREPARED AT THIS TIME TO PREDICT THE EVENTUAL OUTCOME. NEVERTHELESS, WE ARE EN-SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 168019

COURAGED THAT THE SOVIETS APPEAR TO BE TAKING A SERIOUS APPROACH TO THIS ISSUE. WE INTEND TO PURSUE THIS QUESTION VIGOROUSLY AND ARE READY TO MOVE TOWARDS AN EQUITABLE AND PRACTICAL AGREEMENT THAT WOULD MEET THE INTERESTS NOT ONLY OF THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION, BUT ALSO OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION.

8. FOR NEW DELHI: IN VIEW OF THE PRESIDENT'S INTEREST IN KEEPING IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH THE INDIANS ON THIS ISSUE, YOU MAY DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING MORE DETAILED COMMENTS.

--ONE OF THE MAJOR POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT IDENTIFIED AT THE TALKS WAS THE SOVIET CLAIM THAT THE US IS SEEKING TO BUILD UP THE CAPABILITY TO DEPLOY STRATEGIC FORCES TO THE REGION AND THAT THESE FORCES SHOULD BE BANNED IN AN AGREEMENT. THE SOVIETS DID NOT, HOWEVER, CONTEST THE RIGHT OF EITHER SIDE TO MAINTAIN FORCES TO PROTECT NATIONAL INTERESTS (EG. THE FLOW OF OIL TO THE MAJOR INDUSTRIAL CONSUMERS). WE ARE WILLING TO INCLUDE LIMITATIONS ON OUR MILITARY PRESENCE AS PART OF MUTUAL RESTRICTIONS ON BOTH SIDES, BUT CANNOT ACCEPT UNILATERAL CONSTRAINTS ON CERTAIN TYPES OF US FORCES, SUCH AS AIRCRAFT CARRIERS OR SUBMARINES.

--THE SOVIETS ALSO WISH TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF US FORCES AND FACILITIES IN AREAS ADJACENT TO THE INDIAN OCEAN AND WISH TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE MILITARY ACTIVITIES OF US ALLIES. WE REPLIED THAT THE TALKS ARE BILATERAL AND DO NOT AFFECT THE MILITARY ACTIVITIES OF THE LITTORAL OR OF OTHER NON-LITTORAL STATES,OR CONCERN FORCES IN OTHER AREAS.

--BOTH SIDES WERE IN RELATIVELY CLOSE AGREEMENT AS TO THE WATERS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA. HOWEVER, THERE IS A DIFFERENCE OF VIEW ON HOW MUCH OF THE WATERS
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 168019

NORTH AND SOUTH OF AUSTRALIA SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN ANY INDIAN OCEAN AGREEMENT.

--BOTH SIDES AGREED TO CONSIDER MEASURING SHIP PRESENCE THROUGH SOME COMBINATION OF SHIP DAYS AND TON DAYS, BUT QUESTIONS REMAIN CONCERNING THE DEFINITION OF THE TYPES OF SHIPS TO BE COVERED.

--THERE ARE ALSO MAJOR DIFFERENCES OF VIEW ON THE QUESTION OF SUPPORT FACILITIES CENTERING PRIMARILY ON WHETHER THE DEGREE OF CONTROL BY ONE SIDE NEEDS TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN THE DISCUSSIONS. VANCE
UNQUOTE VANCE

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 168019
ORIGIN EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-05 /015 R

66011

DRAFTED BY: EA/RA:LMCNUTT
APPROVED BY: EA/RA:RJMARTENS
PM/DCA-MARIETTI
EA/PRCM-GFOX

-----090315 270507Z /21

R 270215Z JUL 77

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO RUMJPG/USLO PEKING 0000

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

S E C R E T STATE 168019

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 168019 SENT ACTION CINCUSNAVEUR, CINCEUR,
USDOCOSOUTH, CINCUSAFE, CINCUSAREUR, CINCPAC, CINCLANT
INFO COMIDEASTFOR 21 JUL 77

QUOTE S E C R E T STATE 168019

MILITARY ADDEES FOR POLADS

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 168019 ACTION NEW DELHI ISLAMABAD
SINGAPORE KUALA LUMPUR JIDDA MANAMA COLOMBO JAKARTA NAIROBI
KHARTOUM TEHRAN MOSCOW LONDON PARIS CANBERRA WELLINGTON TOKYO
JUL 19.

QUOTE S E C R E T STATE 168019

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, XO

SUBJECT: US-SOVIET TALKS ON THE INDIAN OCEAN

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 168019

REF: STATE 142360

1. DURING MOSCOW MEETING US AND SOVIET UNION AGREED TO
INFORM UN AD HOC COMMITTEE ON THE INDIAN OCEAN ABOUT THE
GENERAL COURSE OF THEIR TALKS. BOTH SIDES AGREED ON
GENERAL PARAMETERS TO BE USED IN COMMUNICATING WITH
THE COMMITTEE. INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDED COMMITTEE IS
OF A GENERAL NATURE AND DOES NOT INCLUDE DETAILED
PRESENTATION OF EITHER SIDES VIEWS. BEYOND THIS, US
WISHES TO KEEP IN TOUCH WITH INDIAN OCEAN STATES WHICH
HAVE AN INTEREST IN US-SOVIET DISCUSSION OF THESE ISSUES.
DURING MOSCOW MEETING US AND SOVIET SIDES AGREED THAT
TALKS SHOULD REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL, BUT THE US RESERVED THE
RIGHT TO CONSULT ALLIES AND OTHER FRIENDLY STATES.
ACTION ADDRESSEES MAY DRAW ON FOLLOWING TO BRIEF HOST
GOVERNMENTS, BUT SHOULD UNDERLINE THAT THIS INFORMATION
IS BEING PASSED IN STRICT CONFIDENCE.

2. INITIAL MEETING OF US-SOVIET WORKING GROUP ON THE
INDIAN OCEAN TOOK PLACE JUNE 22-27 IN MOSCOW. THE TALKS
WERE SERIOUS, POSITIVE, AND NON-POLEMICAL, BUT THEY
REVEALED MAJOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE VIEWS OF THE TWO
SIDES. BOTH SIDES AGREED TO CONTINUE THE TALKS AND THE NEXT
MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE IN SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER.

3. THE MEETINGS CONTRIBUTED TO A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE VIEWS OF BOTH SIDES AND IDENTIFIED DIFFERENCES AND ASPECTS WHICH REQUIRE FURTHER STUDY. BOTH SIDES AGREED ON THE DESIRABILITY OF AVOIDING AN ESCALATING ARMS RACE IN THE REGION. THEY AGREED THAT ONE APPROACH WOULD BE FOR THE TWO SIDES TO AGREE TO STABILIZE THE LEVEL OF THEIR MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN. THERE WERE DIFFERENCES, HOWEVER, OVER THE MEANING OF STABILIZATION
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 168019

AND THE PRECISE STEPS THAT SHOULD BE TAKEN TO ACHIEVE THIS INITIAL GOAL. WE BELIEVE THAT GENERAL LIMITATIONS ON PRESENCE AND FACILITIES SHOULD BE THE FIRST STEP: REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED NEXT, IN LIGHT OF OUR EXPERIENCE WITH AN INITIAL STABILIZATION AGREEMENT.

4. THERE WAS DISCUSSION OF THE SOVIET CLAIM THAT US FORCES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN MIGHT CONSTITUTE A STRATEGIC THREAT TO THE SOVIET UNION. THE US STATED THAT ITS FORCES IN THE AREA DO NOT CONSTITUTE A THREAT TO THE SOVIET UNION. THE TYPES OF FORCES WHICH EACH SIDE DEPLOYS TO THE INDIAN OCEAN ARE A REFLECTION OF THE DIFFERENT STRUCTURE OF ITS ARMED FORCES. THE US IS WILLING TO CONSIDER MUTUAL LIMITATIONS ON US AND SOVIET FORCES, BUT IS NOT PREPARED TO ACCEPT CONSTRAINTS ON ITS FORCES THAT RESULT IN UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE FOR THE OTHER SIDE.

5. THE TALKS ALSO ADDRESSED SUCH QUESTIONS AS THE DEFINITION OF THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA, METHODS TO BE USED IN MEASURING SHIP DEPLOYMENTS AND THE QUESTION OF SUPPORT FACILITIES LOCATED IN THE REGION. BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT THE DEFINITION OF THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA WOULD INCLUDE THE RED SEA AND THE PERSIAN GULF, THOUGH SOME DIFFERENCES ON OTHER BOUNDARIES REMAIN TO BE WORKED OUT.

6. THE TWO SIDES AGREED THAT THE TALKS WOULD BE BILATERAL AND SHOULD NOT ADVERSELY AFFECT THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF ANY COUNTRY. THEY FURTHER AGREED THAT GENERALLY RECOGNIZED NORMS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW CONCERNING FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT BY AIRCRAFT OF THE OPEN SEA, OF UNHAMPED MERCHANT NAVIGATION, AND OF OCEANOGRAPHIC AND OTHER RESEARCH SHOULD NOT BE ABRIDGED AS A RESULT OF NEGOTIATIONS ON INDIAN OCEAN ARMS LIMITATIONS.

7. THE US DOES NOT MINIMIZE THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH LIE AHEAD IN THESE TALKS AND IS NOT PREPARED AT THIS TIME TO
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 168019

PREDICT THE EVENTUAL OUTCOME. NEVERTHELESS, WE ARE ENCOURAGED THAT THE SOVIETS APPEAR TO BE TAKING A SERIOUS APPROACH TO THIS ISSUE. WE INTEND TO PURSUE THIS QUESTION VIGOROUSLY AND ARE READY TO MOVE TOWARDS AN EQUITABLE AND PRACTICAL AGREEMENT THAT WOULD MEET THE INTERESTS NOT ONLY OF THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION, BUT ALSO OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION.

8. FOR NEW DELHI: IN VIEW OF THE PRESIDENT'S INTEREST IN KEEPING IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH THE INDIANS ON THIS ISSUE, YOU MAY DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING MORE DETAILED COMMENTS.

--ONE OF THE MAJOR POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT IDENTIFIED AT THE TALKS WAS THE SOVIET CLAIM THAT THE US IS SEEKING TO BUILD UP THE CAPABILITY TO DEPLOY STRATEGIC FORCES TO THE REGION AND THAT THESE FORCES SHOULD BE BANNED IN AN AGREEMENT. THE SOVIETS DID NOT, HOWEVER, CONTEST THE RIGHT OF EITHER SIDE TO MAINTAIN FORCES TO PROTECT NATIONAL INTERESTS (EG. THE FLOW OF OIL TO THE MAJOR INDUSTRIAL CONSUMERS). WE ARE WILLING TO INCLUDE LIMITATIONS ON OUR MILITARY PRESENCE AS PART OF MUTUAL RESTRICTIONS ON BOTH SIDES, BUT CANNOT ACCEPT UNILATERAL CONSTRAINTS ON CERTAIN TYPES OF US FORCES, SUCH AS AIRCRAFT CARRIERS OR SUBMARINES.

--THE SOVIETS ALSO WISH TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF US FORCES AND FACILITIES IN AREAS ADJACENT TO THE INDIAN OCEAN AND WISH TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE MILITARY ACTIVITIES OF US ALLIES. WE REPLIED THAT THE TALKS ARE BILATERAL AND DO NOT AFFECT THE MILITARY ACTIVITIES OF THE LITTORAL OR OF OTHER NON-LITTORAL STATES, OR CONCERN FORCES IN OTHER AREAS.

--BOTH SIDES WERE IN RELATIVELY CLOSE AGREEMENT AS TO THE WATERS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA. HOWEVER,
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 168019

THERE IS A DIFFERENCE OF VIEW ON HOW MUCH OF THE WATERS NORTH AND SOUTH OF AUSTRALIA SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN ANY INDIAN OCEAN AGREEMENT.

--BOTH SIDES AGREED TO CONSIDER MEASURING SHIP PRESENCE THROUGH SOME COMBINATION OF SHIP DAYS AND TON DAYS, BUT QUESTIONS REMAIN CONCERNING THE DEFINITION OF THE TYPES OF SHIPS TO BE COVERED.

--THERE ARE ALSO MAJOR DIFFERENCES OF VIEW ON THE QUESTION OF SUPPORT FACILITIES CENTERING PRIMARILY ON WHETHER THE DEGREE OF CONTROL BY ONE SIDE NEEDS TO BE

TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN THE DISCUSSIONS. VANCE

UNQUOTE VANCE

UNQUOTE VANCE

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TROOP DEPLOYMENT, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 19-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE168019
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: MARIETTI
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770257-0152
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770742/aaaabjtq.tel
Line Count: 768
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: b6589a67-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN PM
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 14
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 STATE 142360
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags: ANOMALY
Review Date: 02-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1815633
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: US-SOVIET TALKS ON THE INDIAN OCEAN
TAGS: PARM, XO, US, UR
To: NEW DELHI ISLAMABAD MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/b6589a67-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009